THE GEORGIC

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE VERGILIAN TYPE OF DIDACTIC POETRY

BY

MARIE LORETTO LILLY

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1916

BALTIMORE
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This monograph comprises chapters one, two, and three of a study to be published in *Hesperia*, Supplementary Series, No. 5. Göttingen, Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht; Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press.

IN GRATEFUL MEMORY

OF

SISTER MARY MELETIA

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THE GEORGIC

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In 1697, Addison in his "Essay on the Georgics" [1] complains of the neglect of these poems and of their confusion with the pastoral. "There has been abundance of criticism spent on Virgil's *Pastorals* and *Aeneids,*" he writes, "but the *Georgics* are a subject which none of the critics have sufficiently taken into their consideration, most of them passing it over in silence, or casting it under the same head with *Pastoral*—a division by no means proper, unless we suppose the style of a Husbandman ought to be imitated in a *Georgic,* as that of a shepherd is in *Pastoral.* But though the scene of both these Poems lies in the same place; the speakers in them are of a quite different character, since the precepts of husbandry are not to be delivered with the simplicity of a Plowman, but with the address of a Poet. No rules therefore that relate to *Pastoral,* can any way affect the *Georgics,* since they fall under that class of Poetry, which consists in giving plain and direct instructions to the reader; whether they be Moral duties, as those of *Theognis* and *Pythagoras; or* Philosophical Speculations, as those of *Aratus* and *Lucretius;* or Rules of practice, as those of *Hesiod* and *Virgil.*"

One can hardly agree with Addison that the critics have neglected Vergil's *Georgics;* and there is evidence that from their first appearance the didactics that rival the *De Rerum Natura* were not denied due honor. The long list of translations, and the various editions of the *Georgics* annotated in many lan-

[1] This essay was contributed anonymously as an introduction to Dryden's translation of the *Georgics.* It was written as early as 1693. See Hurd's note, *The Works of Addison,* ed. Bohn, London, 1862, p. 154.

guages bear witness to the devoted labor spent on Vergil's agricultural treatises. Various recent publications,[2] moreover, testify to the living interest in the poems that have been pronounced the most finished product of antiquity. But, so far as I am able to discover, of the georgic as a type, closely related to the pastoral, although essentially different from it, nothing definite or detailed has been written in English since Addison's complaint in 1697. As for French critics, they seem also to have neglected the subject of the georgic as a type. Collections of Italian georgics have been edited [3] and there is some Italian criticism on the georgic poetry of Italy,[4] but unfortunately neither these collections of "Italian Georgics," nor the critical essays have so far been accessible to me: of the latter I know only what is conveyed by the titles.

One cannot say that, like the georgic, the pastoral has been neglected. With finer understanding of the subject than that which is manifest in the age of Addison, the critics have continued to discuss the imitations of Vergil and of Theocritus. Symonds,[5] with justice, refers to "the whole hackneyed question of Bucolic poetry." Certainly no student can remain ignorant of the pastoral as a type, of its origin, of its characteristics, of its developments as a literary *genre,* of the recurring periods of favor and disfavor through which it has passed. But if, incidentally, the critics touch upon the difference in type between the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* of Vergil, it is usually to

[2] Meta Glass, *The Fusion of Stylistic Elements in Vergil's Georgics*, N. Y., Columbia Univ., 1913; T. F. Royd, *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Vergil: a naturalist's handbook to the Georgics*, with a preface by W. Warde Fowler, Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1914; T. C. Williams, *The Georgics and Eclogues of Vergil*, with an introd. by G. H. Palmer, Harvard Univ. Press, 1915; *Les Géorgiques*, Texte Latin, par Paul Lejay, Paris, 1915.

[3] *I Poemi Georgici*, Francesco Bonsignori, Lucca, 1785; Giovanni Silvestri, Milano, 1826.

[4] Felippo Re, *Della poesia georgica degli* Italiani, Bologna, 1809; L. Girardelli, *Dei poemi georgici nostrali*, Goriza, 1900; D. Merlini's *Saggio di ricerche sulla satira contro il villano*, Torino, Loscher, 1894, probably treats of poems that fall under the head of mock-georgics.

[5] J. A. Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, London, 1902, Vol. II, p. 245.

notice the superiority of workmanship in the latter, or to contrast the general character of the two series of poems. Sellar,[6] for example, observes that Vergil was marked among his contemporaries as the poet of Nature and rural life. The *Eclogues,* he observes, are of a light type; the general Roman spirit demanded of its highest literature that it should have either some direct practical use or contribute in some way to the sense of national greatness. Glover[7] discusses the difference in spirit between the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics:* "the great note" of the *Eclogues,* youthful happiness, the life of the Shepherd, an easy life, touched sometimes by youthful grief that is never inconsolable; in the *Georgics,* "the grim realization that life involves a great deal more work than Menalcas and the rest had thought, hard work all the year round, vigilance never to be remitted, and labor which it is ruin to relax." In general, however, the commentators seem to take it for granted that the reader will perceive of necessity the essential difference between the two types. Yet one continually finds that, in spite of Addison's emphatic protest, students confuse the georgic with the pastoral.

Of the few writings that I have been able to discover on the imitations of the *Georgics* there is almost nothing that is of any value as a study of the type. In Conington's edition of Vergil,[8] there is a section on the "Later Didactic Poets of Rome," an essay that is valuable in the history of the georgic, and that gives a general idea of the manner in which the Vergilian model was imitated from the earliest period. A piece of work entitled *Virgilio nella storia della Poesia Didascalica Latina,* by D. Renzi,[9] promises valuable information; but I have been unable to consult it. Dunlop[10] has some comments on a few of the

[6] W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, Virgil,* Oxford, 1908, pp. 174 ff.

[7] T. R. Glover, *Studies in Vergil,* London, Methuen and Co., 1904, pp. 30 ff.

[8] J. Conington, *The Works of Vergil,* London, 1872, Vol. I, p. 389.

[9] Avella, 1907.

[10] J. Dunlop, *History of Roman Lit. during the Augustan Age.* London, 1828. Vol. III, pp. 138 ff.

imitations of the *Georgics,* but his remarks are even more general respecting the type than those of Conington. For example, he observes that " The *Rusticus* of Politian ' in *Virgilii Georgicon enarratione pronunciata'* is an abridgement of the subject of that poem and several passages are nearly copied from it." After having briefly considered several other imitations, he comments on the great debt of Thomson to Vergil and points out passages in the *Seasons,* imitated, or almost translated, from the *Georgics.*

Ginguené [11] has a valuable chapter on the Italian didactics of the sixteenth century. He sketches briefly the contents of most of the Italian georgics of the period, but altho he comments generally on the fact that these poems follow Vergil as a model, he says nothing of their particular adaptations of the features peculiar to the georgic type. Incidentally, he shows that other writers, who have considered imitations of the *Georgics,* have done so carelessly. An enthusiastic admirer of Luigi Alamanni's *Coltivazione,* Ginguené protests against the French neglect of this important poem, a work written and first published in France. In particular he reproaches Jacques Delille, Saint-Lambert, and a certain de Rosset. Delille is scored, because, in the introduction to his translation of the *Georgics,* he announces that he cannot refrain from speaking of the poems for which Vergil has furnished the idea and the model, after which announcement, he considers Vanière's *Praedium Rusticum,* Rapin's *Jardins,* Thomson's *Seasons,* and Saint-Lambert's *Saisons,* without mentioning Luigi Alamanni. Saint-Lambert is reproached, because, in his *discours préliminaire,*[12] he writes of the *Georgics* of Vergil and of *les Géorgiques plus detaillés de Vanière,* and neglects the opportunity of speaking of the georgics of Alamanni. De Rosset is complained against, because, in an

[11] P. L. Ginguené, *Hist. Lit. d'Italie,* Paris, 1824, 2e ed. T. 9, ch. xxxv, pp. 1 ff.

[12] Ginguené assumes that the reader is familiar with this work: he does not state where it is to be found. See J. F. Saint-Lambert, *Les Saisons,* " Discours Préliminaire," Paris, 1795.

introductory discourse on georgic poetry prefixed to a poem on agriculture,[13] he writes at length on Hesiod and at still greater length on Vergil, after which he passes abruptly to Rapin and Vanière, without seeming to know that another georgic poet (Alamanni) had existed in the meantime.

Saint-Lambert's discussion [14] is of no value as a study of the georgic type as a whole, but it is important in the history of the development of the eighteenth century variation of the type due to Thomson's *Seasons.* Delille's introduction [15] is of interest, since he makes a defense of the georgic. He also considers Vanière's *Praedium Rusticum* very briefly and compares it with Vergil's *Georgics,* not, however, with any reference to Vanière's use of the distinctive features of the Vergilian type. This is followed by some general criticism of Rapin's *Gardens,* and Thomson's *Seasons,* and mention is made of the existence of two other poems on the seasons by French writers who are not named. Delille's preface to *L'Homme des Champs* [16] is of interest with respect to the broad meaning of the word "georgic" in French poems of this class, but the French critic is no more detailed in his discussion of this type than he is in the introduction to his translation of the *Georgics.* Whether Rosset's discourse is of value or not, I am unable to say, for his work is inaccessible to me.

In histories of Italian literature,[17] there occur brief notices of Italian didactics, and of Italian georgics, among the latter

[13] The reader's familiarity with de Rosset, as with Saint-Lambert, is assumed. For a notice of the life of Pierre Fulcrand de Rosset, who died at Paris, in 1788, the author of a poem on agriculture in nine books, the first six of which appeared at Paris in 1744, the complete edition at Lausanne, in 1806, cp. Pierre Larousse, *Dict. Univ. de la XIXe Siècle,* T. 13, p. 1302.

[14] *Op. cit.*

[15] J. Delille, *Œuvres, Les Géorgiques,* Vol. I, "Discours Préliminaire," ed. P. F. Tissot, Paris, 1832-33.

[16] J. Delille, *L'Homme des Champs, ou Les Géorgiques Françoises,* Paris, 1805, p. 18.

[17] See, for example, G. Tiraboschi, *Stor. della Lett. Ital. Milano,* 1822-26. T. v., p. 864, T. vi, p. 1428, T. vii, pp. 1780, 1786 ff., T. xiii, pp. 2119, 2136, 2137 ff. *Stor. Lett. d'Ital.,* Milano, F. Flamini, "Il Cinquecento," pp.

being considered only poems that treat of agricultural subjects. Concerning the relation of these poems to Vergil's didactics, we are told at most, however, that they are written in imitation of the *Georgics.*

Flamini cites a study of Valvasone's *Caccia* [18] that is probably of value; but I have been unable to see it. Cavicchi [19] shows definitely the relations between Vergil and Rucellai, but he does not consider Rucellai's use of the chief features of the georgic type. Altho Ginguené complains of the French neglect of Alamanni, more appears to have been written on *La Coltivazione* than on any other Italian didactic. In a valuable Verona edition of Alamanni's *Coltivazione* and Rucellai's *Api,* published 1745, the Vergilian borrowings and imitations are cited in the annotations of Giuseppe Bianchini da Prato on *La Coltivazione* and of Roberto Tito on *Le Api.* Gaspary mentions several studies of *La Coltivazione* [20] that I have been unable to see. Hauvette [21] considers the poem in detail, commenting on its relation to Vergil's *Georgics,* but beyond remarking that Alamanni scorns the digressions which are so important a part of Vergil's poems, he does not discuss the conventions of the georgic.

Most historians of French literature are silent concerning French georgics; histories of English literature have almost nothing to say of English georgics. Prefaces to English

110, 440-2, 538, 574; T. Concari, "Il Settecento," 272, 237, 277, 278; G. Mazzoni, "L'Ottocento," 78, 774. A. Gaspary, *Stor. della Lett. Ital.*, tr. dal Tedesco da Nicòlo Zingarelli, Torino, 1887, V, II, pt. II, pp. 142 ff., 197, 319.

[18] L. Pizzio, *La poesia didascalica e la "Caccia" di E. da Valvasone,* Udine, 1892.

[19] F. Cavicchi, *Il Libro IV delle Georgiche di Virgilio e "Le Api" di G. Rucellai,* Teramo, 1900.

[20] F. Caccialanza, *Le Georgiche di Virgilio e la "Coltivazione" di Luigi Alamanni,,* Susa, 1892; G. Naro, *L'Alamanni e la Coltivazione,* Siracusa, 1897; L. Girardelli, *Dei poemi georgici nostrali ed in particolare della Coltivazione di L. Alamanni,* Gorizia, 1900, cp. above, p. 2.

[21] H. Hauvette, *Luigi Alamanni* (1495-1566), *sa vie et son œuvre,* Paris, 1903, pp. 263 ff.

imitations of the *Georgics* sometimes contain more or less general references to Vergil [22] as the model followed; occasionally British borrowings from Vergil are noted by the borrowers themselves.[23] No critic can pass over Thomson's debt to Vergil in *The Seasons.* Logie Robertson [24] has some important comments on it. Macaulay [25] dwells upon it at greater length; and Otto Zippel [26] in his variorum edition of *The Seasons* notes the resemblances and borrowings with all their changes, line for line. Lejay [27] discussing French imitations of the *Georgics* writes suggestively of the influence of Thomson's *Seasons* in helping to make agriculture a mode in French literature. He remarks briefly on the translations and poems of Delille, on *Les Saisons* of Saint-Lambert, and on *Les Mois* of Roucher. But no one has studied Thomson's *Seasons* as a development of the georgic type, the chief model of those eighteenth century "géorgiques françaises" that represent no attempt to convey practical instructions, but still illustrate almost all the motives of Vergil's *Georgics.* Professor W. P. Mustard has contributed an article on "Vergil's Georgics and the British Poets," [28] in which he points out definitely almost every passage in British literature echoing or imitating the *Georgics,* gives a list of English poems "professedly or manifestly" imitations of the Vergilian didactics, and notes a number of the favorite Vergilian conventions; but it does not fall within his purpose to discuss the georgic as a literary type.

It would require prolonged investigation to prepare one's self for a complete treatise on the georgic as a type. In my restricted study of the subject I shall attempt, first, to define the

[22] Cp. Somerville, Preface to *The Chase;* Akenside, *The Pleasures of the Imagination.*

[23] Cp. Cowper, footnote to *The Task,* III, 429, a misquotation of *Georg.* II, 82; Gray's note on *Ode to Spring.*

[24] *Thomson's Seasons and Castle of Indolence,* Oxford, 1891.

[25] G. C. Macaulay, *James Thomson,* London, Macmillan & Co., 1908.

[26] *Palaestra,* LXVI.

[27] *Op. cit.,* Introd., p. xxxvii.

[28] *Am. J. Phil.,* XXIX, 1 ff.

georgic as a type and to study it with special reference to its relation to the pastoral; second, to sketch the most prominent features of the historical development of the georgic; third, to write in detail, so far as my material permits, the history of English georgics that treat of general agriculture, of gardens and of field sports, discussing also to some extent the didactics on these themes that occur in French and in Italian.[29]

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[29] My information concerning the subject in Spanish and German is casual, since I have excluded both literatures from the range of my study. I am not aware of any georgics in Spanish; and the type, except as it is developed in Thomson's *Seasons*, seems to have found little favor among German writers. For the influence of Thompson's *Seasons* on German literature, cp. K. Gjerset, *Der Einfluss von James Thomson's "Jahreszeiten" auf die deutsche Literatur des achzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Heidelberg, 1898.

CHAPTER II

The Creation of the Georgic Type

1. Vergil's *Georgics:* Their Relation to the *Works and Days* of Hesiod.

The pastoral has come down to us from Theocritus, largely thru Vergil. The georgic, also, originated with the Greeks. Varro[1] names many writers among the Greeks who wrote of agriculture. Some, he says, treated the same subject in verse, as for example, Hesiod of Ascra, and Menecrates of Ephesus. The verses of Menecrates however, remain mere tradition. Of Nicander's *Georgics,*[2] there are left only fragments that in no way confirm the suggestion of Quintilian,[3] that Vergil followed him; nor do any other critics point out that Vergil owes more to Nicander than the borrowings from the *Theriaca.*[4] The georgic may be said to have originated with the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, but it has come down to us as a literary form thru Vergil, whose *Georgics* owe far less to Hesiod than his *Eclogues* owe to Theocritus. The *Eclogues* are little more than artificial copies, often mere translations, of Theocritus; yet the world does not fail to acknowledge the charm with which Vergil has invested them as his own. Names as great as those of Horace, Milton, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Macaulay, are found in the list of their admirers; but none the less, not only the literary conventions, but also much that is best in them,

[1] *Varro on Farming.* Translated by Lloyd Storr-Best, London, G. Bell & Sons, 1912, p. 5.

[2] Nicander lived in the 2nd c. B. C. The fragments of his lost works are edited with a Latin translation by A. F. Didot, *Poetae Bucolici et Didactici. Graece et Latine.* Paris, 1862, p. 157.

[3] *Instit. Orat.*, x, 1, 56.

[4] Cp. T. E. Page, *P Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica*, Macmillan and Co., 1910, notes on *Georg.* III, 425, 430, 513.

Vergil owes to Theocritus. Even the landscape portrayed in them may sometimes be recognized as that of Sicily.

Many influences were at work in the poems that Sellar declares to be 'almost the only specimens of didactic poetry that the world cares to read.' And there is much of Hesiod in Vergil; but it is Vergil, not Hesiod, who created the literary form of the georgic.

Some idea of the *Works and Days* may be had from the title page of Chapman's Translation,[5] "The Georgicks of Hesiod, by George Chapman: Translated elaborately out of the Greek. Containing Doctrine of Husbandrie, Morality and Piety, with a perpetual calendar of Good and Bad Daies; Not Superstitious, but necessary (as far as natural causes compell) for all men to observe, and difference in following their affaires." More tersely, Aristophanes sums up the matter (*The Frogs,* 1033, translated by Hookham Frere):

> Next came old Hesiod, teaching us husbandry,
> Ploughing, and sowing, and rural affairs,
> Rural economy, rural astronomy,
> Homely morality, labor and thrift.

Hesiod does not purport to write a systematic treatise on agriculture. He begins by invoking the Muses, and continues with a personal address to Perses, his brother, who has wronged him, and seems in need of advice. Here ensues a moralization on strife; then the story of Pandora is told, in explanation of the necessity of toil, and of the difficulties of life. From this, arises an account of the Golden Age, and the evil days that followed thereafter. Perses is exhorted to justice and work, and is given various wise counsels. Then the poet cries, "Now if thy heart in thy breast is set on wealth, do thou thus and work one work upon another"; an interesting introduction to what may be called the only purely georgic part of the *Works and Days,* for the labors that are to bring Perses wealth are the labors of the husbandman. Hesiod follows his exhortation by

[5] London, 1618.

a series of desultory precepts concerning husbandry; when to plow and how to plow, what signs to follow, what evils to avoid. After this, he proceeds with advice concerning seafaring, the time to marry, the pouring of libations to the gods, and other miscellaneous matters. Then follows a calendar of lucky and unlucky days, and the poem concludes, "Therein happy and blessed is he, who knowing all these things, worketh his work, blameless before the deathless gods, reading omens and avoiding sin."

From this sketch it may be seen that Hesiod's poem is not a carefully planned, artistically perfect structure. Even through the medium of a prose translation,[6] nevertheless, the work has a singular charm. In Chapman's couplets, much of this is inevitably lost; but in Professor Mair's prose, the freshness, the vigor of style, the personality of the poet, carry the reader back to earlier ages when philosophy walked in homely garb, and the world learned as yet little from libraries, much from life. Hesiod is counsellor, husbandman, and poet. Stories of gods and men he knows, superstitions, perhaps for all his scorn of women, old wives' tales. He has lived in the fields, has learned the signs that Nature has set for man to read, and he is at home with the winds and the stars.

Vergil grew up among the woods and plains of Italy, a country boy with a poet's soul, a poet's clear-sighted eyes, and finely attuned hearing. But he became conversant with the learning of his day. He absorbed the teaching of generations of poets and philosophers; and at the beginning of his poetic career the glory of Lucretius was still new. He professes to sing the song of Hesiod,[7] and he builds upon the model of Lucretius. He enriches his poems with wisdom gleaned from writers on natural history and astronomy, and makes them practical by sound precepts, drawn not only from his own experience, but from the tested writings of authorities such as the Carthaginian Mago, the Greeks Democritus and Xenophon, the Latins Cato

[6] *Hesiod*, translated by A. W. Mair, Oxford, 1908.

[7] Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen, Georg. II, 176.

and Varro. And he writes steeped in the inspiration of Lucretius. But the life that he depicts is the life that he knew, Italian life against a background of Italian landscape. In the making of his poems he reveals himself a reader of books, a lover of philosophy, but a greater lover of his native land; a good husbandman, and a wise giver of advice, but over and above everything a great poet.

An account of the sources of the *Georgics* may be read in any important history of Roman literature, and in most of the detailed studies of Vergil's work. His indebtedness may be traced in detail, thru various scholarly editions of the *Georgics*. Sellar's book is particularly valuable with regard to the relations between Vergil and Lucretius, and to the part that Maecenas played in the composition of the poems. Maecenas probably had some influence in Vergil's choice of a subject peculiarly suited to the policy of the times, a policy begun with the ill-fated efforts of the Gracchi. Luxury and vice had inevitably followed in the wake of Roman conquest. Long civil wars had torn the country, and men loved the soldier's life of daring and adventure better than steady quiet, the routine of the farmer's toil. The city's lure was probably very much then what it is now. Moreover, during the long wars, there had been times when the regular government was almost suspended. 'Right had become wrong, and wrong right; the fields lay waste, their cultivators being taken away, and the crooked scythes forged into swords' (*Georg.* I, 505-8). Only a revival of the ancient Roman principles could restore the ancient Roman greatness. A new theme was offered to the poet. 'Others that in song might have held frivolous minds were now all grown commonplace' (*Georg.* III, 2-4). Vergil felt the inspiration, and so composed the poems that were to celebrate the arts of peace, the glorification of honest toil, the praises of his native land.

Naturally, the didactic was the form selected for the poem. It has been suggested that Vergil was fired by a desire to become the Hesiod,[8] as he was already the Theocritus, of the

[8] Cp. Sellar, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

Romans. And in the *De Rerum Natura,* Lucretius had shown the great possibilities of didactic poetry. With utmost reverence for the work of Lucretius, but with fine understanding of his own powers, Vergil gave himself to the writing of the *Georgics,* perfecting the meter that Lucretius had suggested to him, and adapting Lucretius' plan to his own needs.

2. *Subject Matter of the Georgics*

The Georgics are written in four books, each a complete poem, dealing, as the name implies, with a subject connected with agricultural pursuits. The first book treats of the preparation of the soil; the second of planting, grafting and pruning; the third of cattle; the fourth of bees.

The subject matter of the poems may be analyzed as follows:

Book I

1–5. Address to Maecenas, announcing the subjects of the four poems.

5–42. Address to the rural deities; Augustus eulogized, named as one of the gods.

43–63. Of preparing soils; the time to sow; of winds and other variations of the weather. Products peculiar to different soils. Digression on foreign countries and their products. Allusion to the story of Deucalion.

63–70. The time to plow.

71–117. Of alternating crops; treatment of poor lands.

117–159. Annoyances that harass the farmer, due to Father Jove's desire to strengthen men by teaching them the use of their powers. Of the Golden Age.[9] Necessity of constant work, warfare and prayer.

[9] In his treatment of the Golden Age, Vergil partly follows Hesiod in accepting it as a former age, carefree and happy. But Hesiod regards the passing of the Golden Age as a punishment of the gods for the theft of Prometheus; just as the Biblical tradition makes the loss of Eden a

160–175. Farm implements described.
176–230. Precepts concerning precautions against various annoyances; the signs of a good season; the preparation of seeds; necessity for observation of the constellations.
231–259. Episode of the five zones.
259–275. Labors that may be done in wet weather; on holy days.
276–286. Of favorable and unfavorable days.
287–310. Winter relaxations and occupations.
311–334. Of autumn tempests; a storm described.
335–350. Fearing the elements, observe the skies, venerate the gods; offer the annual rites to Ceres; Ceres' rites [10] described.
351–464. Weather signs; warnings of the sun and moon.
465–497. Signs and omens attending Cæsar's death. Horrors of the resulting civil war.
498–514. Prayer to the gods to preserve Cæsar to save a lost and ruined age, wherein the plow has none of its due honor, and mad Mars rages over all the globe.

Book II

1–8. Preceding subject stated; new subject announced. Bacchus invoked.
9–90. Varieties of trees; best method of cultivating different varieties.
91–109. Great variety of vines; impossibility of naming all.
110–135. Products peculiar to different regions; to foreign lands.

punishment for the eating of the forbidden apple. Vergil's conception is nobler, his practical philosophy bears a curious analogy to the apostolic teaching of the strengthening power of tribulation. This may or may not be the core of Vergil's religious belief, but it is the most characteristic passage of the *Georgics*, emphasizing the central theme of the poem,—the necessity and the value of hardships and continual labor.

[10] The Ambarvalia.

136–176. Panegyric of Italy, blessed above all other lands.
177–258. Of soils; different qualities adapted to different products; of testing soils.
259–314. Methods and time of planting and pruning.
315–345. Descriptive episode—of Spring.
346–370. Further precepts concerning the care of vines and trees.
371–379. Of protecting the vine from cattle, especially from the wild goat.
380–396. Digression—of the sacrifice of the goat to Bacchus; rural feasts in Bacchus' honor.
397–419. Of the husbandman's recurring labor.
420–458. Gifts that earth supplies of herself, or in return for little care. Various uses of trees, gifts better than those of Bacchus. Allusion to the battle of the Centaurs.
459–474. The blessings of country life contrasted with the troubled luxuries of cities.
475–494. Prayer to the Muses—first, that the poet be granted to know the causes of things. This denied, the love of woods and streams and fields. He is blest who has cast aside superstition and the fear of death, but he is blest also who knows the rural gods.
495–540. Continuation of the praise of country life; the life led by the Romans of old, whereby their country became the greatest of the earth.
541–542. Conclusion,—But we have travelled over an immense space; it is time to loosen the reeking necks of our steeds.

Book III

1–9. Subject stated, cattle and their guardian deities; necessity of choosing a new theme.
10–39. A future poem allegorically described.
40–48. Meanwhile the subject requested by Maecenas (no light task), must be pursued.

49–102. Of breeding cattle. (66–68, A mournful reflection interposed on the quick passing of the best in human life.)
103–145. A chariot race described; of chariot racing.
146–156. Of the gadfly; allusion to the story of Ino.
157–208. Of training calves and colts.
209–283. Ill effects of blind love on man and beast.
284–285. But meanwhile time flies, as beguiled by love of the subject we linger upon each detail.
286–288. Enough of flocks, the task remains to treat of woolly sheep and shaggy goats.
289–293. The poet realizes the difficulty of his subject, but his cherished desire leads him to the neglected heights of Parnassus, where no poet has trodden before.
294–321. The care of sheep and goats, especially in winter.
322–338. A shepherd's summer day, from the first appearance of the morning star to the rising of cool Vesper and the dewy moon.
339–383. Shepherd life in foreign lands, in the tropics and in the arctic regions.
384–403. Precautions in the securing of wool; of milk.
404–413. Advice not to neglect the care of dogs; the value of dogs as protectors and in the chase.
414–439. The care of folds; pests that must be destroyed.
440–469. Causes and signs of distress among sheep; preventives and remedies.
470–532. Frequency of plagues among cattle; description of a cattle plague.

Book IV

1–7. Subject announced; "The divine gift of aerial honey."
8–32. Of sites for hives.
33–50. Of hives.
51–66. Of hiving swarms.
67–87. Battles among the bees; how to check such contests.

88–102. Of choosing the victorious leader, and the better subjects.

103–115. Of plucking the King's wings to prevent battle; of inviting the bees with gardens.

116–148. Were the work not so nearly ended the poet might sing of gardens, for he remembers the wonders wrought by a poor old man of Tarentum, with his garden and his hives; but prevented by limited space he must leave the task to others.[11]

149–218. Natural qualities and instincts of bees. Their community life; their customs.

219–227. Beliefs in pantheism and immortality held by some as a result of the intelligence observed in bees.

228–250. Of collecting honey.

251–280. Care of sick bees.

281–558. Of recovering the loss of a whole stock of bees. Episode of Aristaeus, whose bees were destroyed in punishment of his crime against Eurydice.

559–566. Conclusion. Reference to composition of the *Eclogues*.

The foregoing outline may give some idea of the difficulties and of the possibilities of the georgic. For me to attempt a criticism of Vergil's work would be alike unnecessary and unprofitable; the world has too long justified the truth of the poet's words (*Georg.* IV, 5-6):

> in tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria, si quem
> numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo.

The arguments for and against didactic poetry need no repetition. Even those most prejudiced can not deny Vergil's success. The heaviest charge brought against him is that he is not concerned to make his teachings practical, but that he uses homely details only as a foil to poetic situations and de-

[11] "A graceful interpolation, sketching what might have been a fifth Georgic."—Conington, *op. cit.*

scriptions.[12] There is testimony, however, that even Vergil's most prosaic teachings have been read with delight; and Page [13] notes a curious proof of the neglect of the valuable matter contained in the *Georgics*. According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[14] at the beginning of the eighteenth century the alternation of crops was just becoming a common practice in England, a great improvement upon the previous and common usage of exhausting the land and then letting it recover its strength by lying fallow. In *Georg.* I, 7-83, this improved system had been recommended by Vergil eighteen centuries before.

It is probably true that no peasant ever drew material profit from the *Georgics*, and it is certainly true that Vergil's poems are not addressed to the uneducated. But a proof that the *Georgics* have been of influence in life as well as literature may be had from the statement of Pierre Larousse [15] that the leaning towards agriculture of the learned Italian scientific farmer, Felippo Re, was decided by the reading of Vergil's *Georgics*.

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[12] Cp. T. DeQuincey, "The Poetry of Pope," *The Collected Writings*, ed. D. Masson, Edinburgh, 1890, vol. XI, p. 91.

[13] *Op. cit.*, Introd., XXXVII.

[14] S. v., Agriculture, c. 2, § I.

[15] *Grand. Dict. Univ. du XIXe Siècle*, T. 13.

CHAPTER III

The Relation of the Georgic to the Pastoral

1. *Distinction between the Georgic and the Pastoral*

The etymology of the term *pastoral* is a guide to the narrower meaning of the word, a meaning still given in the *Century Dictionary,*—"Pastoral, a poem describing the life and manners of shepherds." But *pastoral* is used also to characterize any literature that describes a simple rural life, such as Burns' *Cotter's Saturday Night,* or Walton's *Compleat Angler,* which Hazlitt[1] calls "the best pastoral in our language."

Eclogue, 'a selection,' and *idyll,* 'a little picture,' or 'a little poem,' would seem broader in meaning than *pastoral.* But thruout English literature all three terms have been generally used as synonyms; hence the development of the incongruous types of so-called pastorals, and eclogues, and idylls, such for example as the pastoral elegy, the allegorical eclogue or pastoral, the piscatory eclogue, and the town eclogue.[2] Theocritus' poems are named *Idylls.* But Cowley[3] in his essay *Of Agriculture,* writes, "Theocritus (a very ancient poet, but he was one of our tribe, for he wrote nothing but Pastorals)," altho as Mr. Kerlin says, half the idylls of Theocritus are not poems of rural life.

Vergil, presumably, called his imitations of Theocritus *Bucolics,*[4] and in *Georg.* IV, 565, he alludes to them as "*carmina pastorum.*" According to Page, the grammarians probably gave them the name *eclogues.* The indiscriminate use as syno-

[1] W. Hazlitt, "On John Buncle." *The Round Table; a Collection of Essays on Literature, Men, and Manners,* 3rd ed., London, 1841.

[2] Cf. R. T. Kerlin, *Theocritus in Eng. Lit.*, Lynchburg, Va., 1910, App. 2, p. 181.

[3] A. Cowley, *Essays and Other Prose Writings,* ed. by Alfred B. Gough, Oxford, 1915, p. 141.

[4] Cf. Page, *op. cit.*, Introd., x, n. 1 and n. 2.

nyms of the four terms, Idyll, Bucolic, Eclogue, and Pastoral, seems therefore based on Roman authority, a fact which Mr. Kerlin fails to mention. Vergil's *"carmina pastorum"* and his *Georgics* are usually edited together, either as *Bucolics and Georgics,* or as *Eclogues and Georgics.* This may be one reason why the pastoral and the georgic are still so frequently confused; another reason may be due to the fact that the fashions of the pastoral, as of the georgic, owe so much to Vergil.

Georgic [5] means literally 'earth-work,' or 'field-work,' hence a poem that treats of work in the fields, of husbandry, or more broadly, of rural occupations. According to Addison,[6] "the *Georgic* deals with rules of practice. A kind of poetry that addresses itself wholly to the imagination; it is altogether conversant among the fields and woods, and has the most delightful part of Nature for its province. It raises in our minds a pleasing variety of scenes and landscapes, while it teaches us, and makes the dryest of its precepts look like a description. A *Georgic* therefore is some part of the science of husbandry, put into a pleasing dress, and set off with all the beauties and embellishments of poetry."

In noting that the georgic deals with rural occupations its agreement with the pastoral is seen at once. Both have the same background, and shepherd life may be depicted in both. In both one finds the element of delight in country life. But in Addison's definition the words "science" and "rules of practice," strike at once a vital difference. The georgic, as Vergil planned it, purports to instruct scientifically by means of technical terms and a use of practical details. The writer, speaking in the first person, recounts his experience for the reader's benefit, incidentally making use of various ornamental devices. The pastoral, as Theocritus and Vergil left the form, never

[5] Gk. γῆ, the earth, root εργ of εργον work. It is interesting to note that altho Vergil goes to the Greeks for the names of his poems, he does not owe them either to Hesiod or Theocritus. Chapman called his translation "The Georgicks of Hesiod," after Vergil. Vergil probably owes the name to Nicander.

[6] *Op. cit.*

assumes directly the purpose of instructing. It is most often dramatic in nature, and the characters are frequently represented as speaking, or singing, often in dialogue. The shepherd of Vergil's pastoral does not suggest the idea of toil. Neither is he bowed under the weight of responsibility, troubled unduly by the doubtful blessing of ownership and family cares. He does not scruple to neglect his sheep for love of some scornful maid; often he watches over the possessions of another, and he does not dare even to wager a fat lamb, if an inconvenient stepmother waits at home to take count of the returning flocks. He has his share of grievances, but his occupation is one wherein he may pass joyous and comparatively idle hours, in which, like Tityrus reclining under the shade of a spreading beech, he meditates the woodland muse on his slender reed.

The pastoral themes are few, the singing match, the dirge, the love lay, the conventional forms fixed by Theocritus and imitated by Vergil, who "by including among his Bucolic pieces the famous 'Pollio'"[7] added thereto the panegyric, so marked a feature of the georgic, and with his "freer use" of the pastoral disguise is accredited with having given rise to the pastoral allegory. But no matter what the theme, there is always in the setting of the poem an atmosphere of golden days, a remoteness from the practical business of life. Daphnis is dead, but he "delights in restful peace," and his companions are happy in erecting an altar to him. Meliboeus is driven from his fatherland, a mournful exile, but his grief only serves to heighten the effect of the idle joys of the fortunate Tityrus, Tityrus who is allowed to remain piping under the beeches' shade. Shadows fall from the mountains as the sun declines, but of storm clouds and devastating rains one hears almost nothing. The tragedies, as well as the petty ills that mark the constant struggle of life, are left aside. The shepherd sings

[7] Cf. C. H. Herford, ed. of the *Shepheards Calendar*, London, Macmillan & Co., 1907, Introd., xxx. Herford does not note the fact that Vergil found both the panegyric and the Pollio motive of pastoral peace in Theocritus. Cp. *Idylls*, xvi and xvii.

untroubled by the swift and cruel passing of time. What sorrows he has are the sweet sorrows of youth; he experiences no foreshadowing of the weight of responsibility and the bitter coming of old age. And so, the pastoral that Vergil left as a model for future generations has come down to us signifying almost always the dream of Arcadian life. Little wonder that a frivolous queen and her short-sighted court should have forgotten a starving peasantry while playing at the pastoral.

True, there are pastorals of the conventional type that dwell more or less upon the petty ills of life; for example, in the eclogue of Severus Sanctus, *De Mortibus Boum,*[8] two herdsmen converse on the subject of a cattle plague; the evils of life seem largely responsible for the bitter tongues of Mantuan's shepherds; Spenser not only satirizes the failings of church and state, but he shows the discomfort of the shepherd's life, drawing a bleak picture of "rancke Winter's rage." Thus the old Thenot rebukes the suffering Cuddie ("Februarie," 9-24):

> Lewdly complainest thou, laesie ladde,
> Of Winters wracke for making thee sadde.
> From good to badd, and from badde to worse,
> From worse unto that is worst of all,
> And then returne to his former fall?
> Who will not suffer the stormy time,
> Where will he live tyll the lusty prime?
> Selfe have I worn out thrise threttie yeares,
> Some in much joy, many in many teares,
> Yet never complained of cold nor heate,
> Of Sommers flame, nor of Winters threat,
> Ne ever was to Fortune foeman,
> But gently took that ungently came;
> And ever my flocke was my chief care,
> Winter or Sommer they mought well fare.

Thirsis, in Eclogue I, of Sabie's *Pan's Pipe,*[9] complains of the death of a ewe, and the loss of a "tidie lamb" that the 'Fox did eate,' while the shepherd slept under a thicket. Ty-

[8] *Anthologia Latina*, ed. A. Riese, Leipzig, 1906, II, 334.

[9] Reprinted by J. W. Bright and W. P. Mustard, *Modern Philology*, VII, 433 ff., April, 1910. For Sabie's debt to Mantuan, see pp. 436 ff.

terus seeks to console him with proverbial wisdom, but Thirsis, paraphrasing Mantuan, bitterly replies:

> Good counsell Tyterus, but not so easily followed,
> Man is born in griefe, and grieueth at euery mishap.
> I think we shepheards take greatest paines of all others,
> Sustaine greatest losses, we be tryed with daylie labour,
> With colde in winter, with heat in summer oppressed,
> To manie harmes our tender flockes, to manie diseases
> Our sheep are subject, the thiefe praies ouer our heardlings,
> And worse then the thief, the Fox praies ouer our heardlings,
> Thus we poor heardsmen are pinched and plagu'd aboue other.

But Spenser's Thenot finds time to discourse at length to the unhappie Cuddie, and ends by telling his willing listener a long fable; Sabie's Thirsis, who refuses to be comforted by proverbial wisdom, allows himself to be kept awake, and even diverted, by Tyterus' account of an "ancient love." And the great bulk of pastoral literature hardly touches upon the rugged ways of life; it depicts the shepherd of Arcadia, whether Arcadia be England, or Italy, or France.

Repeating the first line of the *Eclogues* with a slight variation, Vergil ends his fourth *Georgic:*

> illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
> Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
> carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa,
> Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi [10]

The traditional date of composition of the *Eclogues* is from 42 to 37 B. C. According to Vergil's own words he was 'bold thru youth when he lightly made these songs of shepherds'; [11] it is natural enough that they should be mainly concerned with love and happiness. The *Georgics* were composed later, between the years 37 and 30 B. C., when the poet was no longer bold, but courageous with the experience and wisdom of later years. If the phrase *omnia vincit Amor* [12] is characteristic of the eclogue, the phrase *labor omnia vicit* [13] is even more character-

[10] *Ecl.* I. 1. Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi.
[11] *Georg.* IV, 565. [12] *Ecl.* X, 69. [13] *Georg.* I, 145.

istic of the georgic; for the georgic is concerned mostly with work, little with leisure, altho it depicts the farmer's life thru all seasons of the year. It shows glimpses of rural festivities, as in I, 299 ff., II, 385 ff., II, 527 ff., and idyllically peaceful scenes that have the golden age quality of the pastoral, as in the closing passages of the second book. But thruout these scenes, upheld by a noble ideal, the poet writes in a far higher key than in the pastoral. Unlike the shepherd lad, the husbandman bears the responsibility of ownership, the weight of family cares. Tilling his soil, or in moments of enforced leisure, making ready the "arms" with which to conquer the difficulties in his way, he takes earnest thought how he may get the best from that which is his own, and provide for the family that depends upon him. He wastes no time lamenting scorned affection, nor does he spend words vaunting the beauty of his love. He rejoices calmly in the happiness of wedded life,—his sweet children hang on his neck, his 'chaste house keeps its purity.'[14] The greatness of Rome depends upon a virtuous family life, upon 'a youth enduring in labour, accustomed to frugality.'[14a]

But while in the *Georgics* Vergil shows glimpses of a golden age and the gifts that Earth offers of herself, he never lets his reader quite forget the necessity of constant labor. And there is realism enough in the often quoted lines, III, 66-68,

> Optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
> prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus
> et labor, et durae rapit inclementia mortis,

and in the account of the evils and dangers that threaten men daily, from the small annoyances of the insatiable goose and the Strymonian crane to the splendid fury of devasting storms. With respect to their treatment of rural life, Vergil's *Bucolics* are fittingly called *Eclogues,* 'selections.' In the *Georgics* the poet attempts to deal broadly with the whole.

With respect to its conventional form, the georgic may be analyzed as follows:

[14] *Georg.* II, 524. [14a] *Georg.* II, 472.

Subject matter:	A rural occupation.
Central theme:	The glorification of labor; the praise of simple country life in contrast with the troubled luxury of palaces.
Treatment:	Didactic, with precepts varied by digressions arising from the theme, or related to the subject matter.
Chief features:	Formal opening, a statement of the subject: this followed by an invocation to the Muses or other guiding spirits.
	Address to the poet's patron.
	Panegyrics of great men.
	Mythological allusions.
	References to foreign lands, their products, climate, customs.
	Time marked by the position of the constellations.
	Proverbial sayings.
	Moralizations and philosophical reflections.
	Discussion of the Golden Age.
	Discussion of weather signs.
	Description of country pastimes.
	Descriptions of Nature.
	Love of peace; horror of war.
	A lament over present day evils, which are contrasted with the virtues and glories of the past.
	Rhapsody on the poet's native land.
	A long narrative episode,—in Vergil, the story of Aristaeus.

2. *The Pastoral, a literary type of frequent occurrence, made famous by great poets; the Georgic, a literary type coincidentally neglected.*

The "abundance of criticism" spent on the pastoral, and the coincident neglect of the georgic is easily explained; in part, by the frequent occurrence of the former type, the comparative rarity of the latter; in part, by the great beauty of certain pastoral compositions, the tediousness of almost all georgic poetry. A type of poetry of frequent occurrence necessarily excites critical interest. If, at its first appearance, a literary product is justly condemned, criticism, like the unfortunate effort itself, is apt to die soon; but if for any reason worth considering a composition takes a strong hold on the public, tho only temporarily, it is assured a certain importance in literary history; and if a work may be rightly judged a classic, younger critics will constantly arise, inspired to discuss it from different points of view. A type of poetry, difficult in form, infrequent of occurrence, and seldom successful as literature, naturally excites scant comment, and that rarely of a kind to beget new critical effort.

Many poets, among them the greatest and the least, have written pastorals. It requires no especial courage to take up the oaten reed. The poet has little to lose by failure; if he succeed, he knows that the world will listen in spite of itself. But no great poet since Vergil has written a georgic, and comparatively few of the minor poets have attempted the task. Burns, who, as far as practical experience goes, was best fitted to appreciate a georgic, or to attempt to write one, declares upon reading "Dryden's Virgil" that he considers the *Georgics* "by far the best of Virgil," and that "this species of writing" has filled him with "a thousand fancies of emulation."[15] But when he compared his powers with Vergil's, his courage failed. Robert Anderson[16] expresses the opinion that to write a truly

[15] Letter to Mrs. Dunlop, May 4, 1778.

[16] *British Poets*, Vol. XI. Preface to Dodsley's "Agriculture."

excellent georgic is one of the greatest efforts of the human mind. And the frequent attacks upon didactic poetry in general, upon georgic poetry in particular, indeed the occasional defenses of the georgic, emphasize the fact, that, to attempt this form of writing, one must have the courage that leads to an undertaking which promises almost certain defeat.

In the period immediately following Vergil, the pastoral as a *genre* had apparently lost popular favor. Earlier than Calpurnius [17] there appear to have been no imitators of either Theocritus or Vergil whose work survived.[18] Of the writers following Calpurnius, only Nemesianus is named as worthy of any regard. Boccaccio, however, in a summary of the history of pastoral verse, includes both Calpurnius and Nemesianus in his contemptuous utterances concerning pastoral writers. He names 'the Syracusan Theocritus' and 'Vergil, who wrote in Latin,' then adds: "Post hunc autem scripserunt et alii, sed ignobiles, de quibus nil curandum est, excepto inclyto Praeceptore meo Francisco Petrarca".[19]

Of the stream of pastoral poetry during the Middle Ages, Greg observes [20] that "though it nowhere actually disappears, it is reduced to the merest trickle." From the fourth to the tenth century, isolated examples occur that served to preserve the classical memory of the pastoral, reworked, however, with new meanings and new associations under the influence of Christianity.

With the fourteenth century, a new and brilliant epoch begins in the history of the pastoral. In the sixteenth century, Spenser found the *genre* "a literary mode that beyond all others lent itself to the expression of his complex emotions." [21]

[17] Calpurnius' dates are uncertain. He is sometimes supposed to have lived at the end of the third century. For a clear discussion of the subject, cp. C. H. Keene, *The Eclogues of Calpurnius and Nemesianus*, London, 1887.

[18] Cp. Conington on "The Later Bucolic Poets of Rome," *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 114.

[19] *Lettere di G. Boccaccio*, ed. Corrazini, p. 267. See Walter W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906, p. 18.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

[21] Herford, *op. cit.* Introd., p. xxvi.

E. K. counts among Spenser's predecessors, Theocritus, Vergil, Mantuan, Boccaccio, Marot, Sannazaro, "and also divers other excellent both Italian and French poets, whose footing this author every where followeth." Spenser was the chief British influence in the popularizing of the conventional pastoral; but the form occurs in British verse as early as the fifteenth century, in Henryson's *Robin and Makene*; and before that the shepherd stories of the Bible had been made familiar to English audiences in the vernacular drama, and in the liturgical plays of the Nativity. From Spenser's time on, the pastoral is found in England, as on the continent, in more or less closely related groups, and in varying types of varying worth.

The georgic, a type of poetry that except in some of its eighteenth-century developments cannot be said ever to have made a truly popular appeal, is in its recurrences comparatively rare. While Vergil was yet living, parts of his *Georgics* appear to have been parodied.[22] Gratius, who was contemporary with Vergil, wrote a treatise on hunting, evidently imitating the model of the *Georgics*. In the first century after Christ, Columella felt it a sacred duty to develop Vergil's sketch of gardens, *Georg.* IV. 116-148. In the second century, Oppian of Cilicia wrote his so-called golden verses on the "Fisherman's Art," the *Halieutica*, and somewhat later another Oppian (of Apamea) wrote a poetic treatise on hunting, five books of which are extant. In the third century, Nemesianus composed a poem on hunting, more like the treatise of Gratius than that of Oppian of Apamea. In the fourth century, Palladius, imitating Columella, wrote in elegiac verse, on the cultivation of trees (Bk. XIV of his *Husbandry*). How much poetry in imitation of the Vergilian didactics may have seen the light from the fourth to the thirteenth century, only to be buried sooner or later in obscurity, I cannot say. I know of nothing in the nature of a georgic during this period, except

[22] Cp. Addison: *Essay on the Georgics.*

the poem that Biese [23] calls "the much-read Hortulus," Walahfrid Strabo's *De Cultura Hortorum,* "an idyll of the cloister garden," written about 820.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there occur in France a number of treatises in verse on the noble arts of hunting and hawking; [24] and a poetical treatise on fishing, entitled *De Vetula,* is said to have been written by Richard de Fournival at this period.[25] In the fourteenth century, in Italy, Paganino Bonafede wrote some verse precepts on agriculture, entitled *Il Tesoro dei Rustici;* [26] but no one seems to have considered the effort worth publication. In the fifteenth century, very little is found; Halliwell and Wright [27] print a *Fragment of a Poem on Falconry,* written in French at the beginning of the period. Dame Juliana Berner's verse treatise on "Venerie" made part of the famous *Boke of St. Alban's,* which appeared in 1486. To the year 1420, is referred the curious old English poem by Piers of Fulham, entitled "Vayne conseytes of folysche love undyr colour of fyscheng and fowlyng," [28] a composition less interesting as an attempt at an allegory than for its information concerning fish and fowl. Sometime in the period following Chaucer, an unknown English writer put the treatise of Palladius on *Husbandry* into Chaucerian stanzas, with original prologues and epilogues, and occasional moralizations of his own; and one original English pro-

[23] A. Biese, *The Development of the Feeling for Nature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times,* translated from the German. London, 1905, p. 61.

[24] Cp. E. Jullien, *La Chasse. Son Histoire et sa Legislation.* Paris. Aubertin, *Hist. de la Langue et de la Litt. Francaises au Moyen Age d'après les Travaux les plus recents.* Paris, 1878, T. II, pp. 64 ff.

[25] See "The Angler's Library," *The Edinburgh Review,* Vol. 158, 1883, p. 160. The writer states that the *De Vetula* was formerly attributed to Ovid. I have been unable to identify R. de Fournival.

[26] Cp. Tiraboschi, *op. cit.,* T. V, II, 864.

[27] T. Wright and J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquae Antiquae,* London, 1841. Vol. I, p. 310.

[28] Reprinted by W. C. Hazlitt, in *Remains of the Early Popular poetry of England,* Vol. II. London, 1866. For the date of the poem, see J. J. Manley, "Literature of Sea and River Fishing," *Internat. Fisheries Exhibition,* 1833, *The Fisheries Exhibition Literature,* Vol. III, p. 563.

duction, georgic tho not Vergilian, belongs to the fifteenth century, a treatise in verse by "Mayster John Gardener" entitled the *Feate of Gardening.*[29] In Italy, Poliziano's *Rusticus* appeared in 1483, a Latin poem still highly praised, which Dunlop [30] describes as "an abridgement of the *Georgics.*" Before 1500, Gioviano Pontano imitated certain features of the *Georgics* in his *Urania,* and in his didactic poem *Meteora;* and he produced a true Vergilian georgic in the *De Hortis Hesperidum.*

In the sixteenth century, the pastoral is a favorite type of poetry in Italy and France. With the publication of the *Shepheards Calendar* the *genre* in England enters upon a golden age. Until the end of the century the pastoral holds its vogue. Critics may scorn the type as they will, but they cannot disregard the instrument that Spenser and Ben Jonson and Shakespeare saw fit to adapt to their needs. The pastoral conventions lend themselves readily to affectations and artificialities, but they are forms in which the poet may express lyric joy and sorrow, romantic emotion, dramatic passion. The georgic, primarily didactic, purporting to treat of practical arts, offered little appeal to an age in which life seemed a great adventure. Representative Elizabethans seem to have found no possibilities in the Vergilian type of didactic poetry. So far as I have been able to discover, Thomas Tusser and Thomas Moffat are the only sixteenth-century Englishmen who regarded georgic precepts as matter fit for verse. In 1557, appeared Tusser's *Hundreth Pointes of Goode Husbandry,* later augmented to *Five Hundred Pointes,* a "profitable, and not unpleasant" georgic, which, however, owes nothing to the Vergilian conventions. Moffat's poem was not printed until 1599. Collier [31] quotes the title page as follows, "The Silkewormes and Their Flies: Lively described in verse by T. M. a Countrie Farmar,

[29] *Archaeologia,* London, 1894.

[30] *Op. cit.,* p. 138.

[31] J. P. Collier, *A Bibliographical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language.* London, 1865, Vol. I, p. 539.

and an apprentice in Physicke. For the great benefit and enriching of England. Printed at London by V. S. for Nicholas Ling, and are to be sold at his shop at the West End of Paules. 1599. 4to., 41 *leaves*." Collier informs the reader that near the close of the first book, the poet mentions having been in Italy, adding in a marginal note that this was twenty years before he published his poem. Moffat's Italian visit is a simple explanation of this late sixteenth-century English georgic. The art of raising silkworms is among the favorite themes of Italian didactic poets, particularly in the sixteenth century.[32]

In France during this period a few treatises on hunting are found.[33] From Jullien's account they appear to be written more or less according to the model of the georgic. Among them is Claude Gauchet's *Plaisir des Champs,* an interesting poem in which pastoral love songs, descriptions of the chase, and georgic eclogues are mingled at the poet's fancy.

In Italy, during the sixteenth century, so great was the veneration for the classics, that not only was the pastoral a favorite fashion, but the georgic too, for the first time in its history, received notable appreciation as a *genre.* The georgic themes, and the georgic plan are adapted to many subjects treated both in Latin and in Italian verse: didactics on general agriculture, as Luigi Alamanni's *Coltivazione* and Tansillo's *Podere;* on special branches of farming, as Pierio Valeriano's *De Milacis Cultura,* and the poems of Giustolo da Spoleto, Vida, and Tesauro on silkworms; on rural sports, as Valvasone's *Caccia;* on seafaring, as Baldi's *Nautica.* In Tansillo's *Balia* noble ladies are exhorted to nurse their own children, and the same writer's *Vendemmiatore,* characterized by Greg [34] as "one of those obscene debauches of fancy which throw a lurid light on the luxurious imagination of the age," may be considered as a burlesque of a noble georgic theme.

[32] Cp. the following list: Lodovico Lazzarelli, *Il Bombyx,* 1493; P. Giustolo da Spoleto, *De Sere,* 1510; Girolamo Vida, *Bombyces,* 1527; Alessandro Tesauro, *La Sereide,* 1585; Zaccaria Betti, *Il Baco da Seta,* 1756.

[33] See Jullien, *op. cit.,* ch. x and xi. [34] *Op. cit.,* p. 32.

In the seventeenth century, the golden age of pastoral is ended; nevertheless, the *genre* persists, chiefly in the forms of the lyric and of the drama. John Donne and Herrick are found among English writers of pastoral lyrics; Milton reaches the "high water mark of poetry" in *Lycidas,* and immortalizes the pastoral masque in *Comus.* The period furnishes little material for the history of the georgic. I know of nothing of the type in Italy, except Nicolo Partenio Giannettasio's *Halieutica,* a work that I have been unable to see. In 1613, John Dennys' *Secrets of Angling,* a poem based manifestly, if not professedly, on the model of the Vergilian didactics, was published at London.[35] In 1665, René Rapin's *Horti* was published at Paris. Dennys' *Secrets* probably set other English writers scribbling verses on the gentle craft.[36] Rapin's *Horti* may have incited Richard Richardson to write a *Carmen de Cultu Hortorum,* published at London, 1669. It is safe to say that if the seventeenth century begot many other georgics, they have either perished or become lost in obscurity. One must look to the eighteenth century for the culmination of the type.

In the early years of the eighteenth century, a great deal is heard about the pastoral. English critics, influenced by the French views of Fontenelle and Rapin[37] are pleased to discourse upon the true nature of pastoral poetry; English poets continue to write pastorals. The story of the Philips-Pope controversy is not a highly edifying chapter in the history of English literature, but because of it John Gay wrote the *Shepherd's Week.* The pastorals of Pope and Philips are artificial specimens of the *genre;* and it is generally agreed that in the eighteenth century the type is brought to be a thing of scorn.

[35] The date of composition of this poem is uncertain. John Dennys died in 1609.

[36] See, for example, Thomas Barker, *Barker's Delight: or the Art of Angling,* 1657; S. Ford, *Piscatio, or Angling,* a poem written originally in Latin, 1692, translated by Tipping Sylvester, 1732; *The Innocent Epicure, or The Art of Angling, A Poem* (attributed to Nahum Tate), London, 1697.

[37] Cp. Greg. *Op. cit.,* p. 415.

Yet, even among eighteenth-century pastorals there are found compositions of undeniable charm; in the *Shepherd's Week,* Gay proved himself truly a poet; Shenstone has nowhere so light and delicate a touch as in his *Pastoral Ballad;* and Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* can still be read with delight.

In 1697, Addison made his complaint about the critics' neglect of Vergil's *Georgics.*[38] Up to that time, unless Moffat's *Silkwormes* be excepted, no true English georgic of the Vergilian type seems to have appeared. John Gardener's verses are rudely made precepts; Tussers's *Husbandry* though less rude is no more Vergilian than John Gardener's effort. John Dennys wrote not of husbandry, but of angling,[39] and Dennys is not concerned with the pursuit of the sport as a means of supplying the larder, but rather with the exercise of gentlemanly virtues and gentlemanly skill. Dennys' seventeenth-century followers probably wrote in much the same vein. John Barker, to be sure, gives recipes in verse for the cooking of fish, but altho his verses are a shade more skilfull than those of John Gardener, his worst enemy could hardly have accused him of having tried to imitate Vergil.

In 1700, there is found an angling poem, entitled *The Gentle Recreation, or the Pleasures of Angling,* a slight work, written rather pleasantly, by John Whitney, "a Lover of the Angle," and, from the testimony of his verses, a lover of Vergil. In 1706, appeared the first English poem of any importance, in which a true georgic theme is treated in the manner and spirit of Vergil's *Georgics,* John Philips' *Cyder.* The influence of this didactic on English poetry of the eighteenth century was considerable. No one has ever suggested that it had any influence on French and Italian poetry. Perry,[40] however, states

[38] Cp. above, p. 1.

[39] It is interesting to note, however, that in the *Epitome of the Art of Husbandry,* by I. B. Gent, London, 1669, there are "brief Experimental Directions for the right use of the Angle." See W. B. Daniel, *Rural Sports,* London, 1812. Supplement, p. 16.

[40] T. S. Perry, *English Literature in the Eighteenth Century,* N. Y., Harper and Brothers, 1883, p. 139.

that *Cyder* was much admired in Italy, and that it was translated into Italian. In 1749, the Abbé Yart translated Philips' georgic into French. Whether or not it had been put into French before then, I am not able to say.

It is hazardous to suggest that Italian interest in georgic poetry needed to be revived thru England's example. Yet the fashion of the georgic seems to have sprung into European favor along with the Anglomania manifested in the passion for English gardens. In Italy, as in France, I know of nothing in the nature of an eighteenth-century Vergilian didactic, previous to the publication of Thomson's *Seasons* in 1744. Philips' georgic may or may not have aroused interest in a type of poetry never before held in much favor by the French, and, apparently, neglected by the Italians for more than a hundred years. There is no doubt, however, of the great influence of Thomson on European poetry in general. It is well known that the *Seasons* were read, translated and imitated by almost all the civilized nations of Europe. Thomson has been called "the father of the landscape garden;" certainly he made nature poetry a literary fashion. Suddenly, thru him, the world-old course of the months and the seasons seemed to reveal to the poets sensations as enchantingly new as the emotions of love. The husbandman's life was to be sung once more as the ideal existence. Saint Lambert [41] writes thus: "La poésie champêtre s'est enrichie dans ce siècle d'un genre qui a été inconnu aux anciennes. . . . . Les Anglois et les Allemands ont creé le genre de la poésie descriptive; les anciens aimoient et chantoient la campagne, nous admirons et nous chantons la nature." Further on in his preliminary discourse, the poet speaks of his *Saisons* as georgics made for those who possess the fields, not for those who cultivate them. Other poets, imitating the Vergilian model, as Thomson adapts it to his use in the *Seasons,* give their efforts the sub-title "*géorgiques françaises.*" [42]

[41] *Op. cit.*, p. xv.

[42] See, for example, J. Delille, *L'Homme des Champs, ou Les Géorgiques Françoises,* cp. above, p. F. J. de Bernis, *Les Quatre Saisons, ou Les Géorgiques Françoises,* first published, Paris, 1763).

To the influence of both Philips and Thomson the long list of eighteenth-century English imitations of the *Georgics* must be ascribed. Philips and Thomson were wise enough, or fortunate enough, to choose a model that appealed strongly to English poets of their day. Naturally, in a neo-classic age, Vergil was reverenced as a classic writer. A great poet, he had loved the outdoor world, and he had read into the heart of Nature. More than this, he had prayed the Muses to reveal to him the causes of things, and he had woven into his didactics something of the philosophic and scientific beliefs of the ancients. As a model, he made a strong appeal to the new school of poets, who yearned to sing in praise of country life; and he made an equally strong appeal to the eighteenth-century taste that delighted in attempts to poetize science and philosophy. Much of Vergil's teaching found sympathetic response in the eighteenth-century mind. His plan furnished opportunity for moralizing and philosophizing, and it offered the advantage of the introduction of narrative episodes. Thomson modified Vergil's plan at his pleasure. Other poets who imitated Thomson attempted also to imitate the *Georgics* in all their features. Thruout the century, georgics of various kinds are found. In France, one finds a comparatively long list of eighteenth-century didactics of the Vergilian type. In Italy, not only is the *genre* revived in a long series of new attempts, but sixteenth-century Italian georgics are brought into the light, read and reread as masterpieces of Italian genius. In England and France, as well as in Italy, it becomes the fashion not only to imitate Vergil, but to imitate old and new imitations of Vergil. Early Vergilian didactics appear in reprints and translations.[43] Almost every variety of the georgic occurs, from treatises on general farm life like Vanière's *Praedium Rusticum* and Dodsley's

[43] One finds, for example, in the eighteenth century, French, English and Italian translations of Oppian's *Cynegetica;* English and Italian translations of Oppian's *Halieutica.* From 1716 to 1781, Alamanni's *Coltivazione* was printed twenty times; Tansillo's *Podere* and *La Balia* were printed for the first time in 1769, and *La Balia* was translated into English in 1798 as *The Nurse,* by William Roscommon.

Agriculture to burlesques like Gay's *Trivia,* in which the Vergilian conventions are used in a poem treating of the art of walking London streets. The eighteenth-century vogue of the Vergilian type of didactic poetry is among the most interesting phenomena of an age pre-eminently interesting in the history of literary developments.

The pastoral, as has been seen, played a not unimportant part in the literary history of the early eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, it remained for Shelley and Matthew Arnold to stir the world with the supreme beauty of their pastoral laments. True to classic traditions, Tennyson's Oenone wails in bitterness the unfaith of her royal shepherd. *The English Idyls* are reminiscent of the Syracusan poet. Professor Mustard thinks that 'the very title of these poems is meant to suggest their close relationship to the Idyls of Theocritus'.[44] The traditions of the ages are not easily overthrown. Even in the twentieth century, pastorals may still be found, poems of modern life, in a setting of rural beauty and outward peace, eternally old; but these poems fall under the broad definition of the pastoral, the conventional type seems at last to have become a dead fashion.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the georgic type still persists, examples occurring in French, in English, and in Italian.[45] T. Deyeux's *Chassomanie,* a didactic on the chase, appeared as late as 1844. However, even to scholars, most of these productions are generally unknown, and unless Deyeux's curious poem be excepted, it may be said that after

[44] W. P. Mustard in *The Classical Weekly,* VIII, 166. For a complete discussion of the relation of Tennyson to Theocritus, see W. P. Mustard, *Classical Echoes in Tennyson,* N. Y., The Macmillan Co., 1904, ch. iii.

[45] Among these specimens may be mentioned Delille's *Homme des Champs,* 1800; J. E. Esmenard's *Navigation,* 1804; an anonymous poem on *Fowling,* 1808; James Grahame's *British Georgics,* 1809; Thomas Pike Lathy's bold fraud, *The Anglers,* 1819; Mazzoni, *op. cit.,* p. 78, names a list of Italian didactics, presumably of the Vergilian type, such as C. Arici's *La coltivazione degli ulivi,* 1805; Lorenzo Crico's *La coltivazione del grano-turco,* 1812.

the first quarter of the nineteenth century the *genre* seems to have passed completely out of existence. The fate of the Vergilian didactic appears to be sealed, until in the twentieth century at least two remarkable developments of the type are found in the *Primi Poemetti* of Giovanni Pascoli,[46] and in *Les Géorgiques chrétiennes* of Francis Jammes;[47] Pascoli's *Poemetti,* idylls of country life that Miss Ruth Shepherd[48] calls "a kind of modern Italian georgics, dealing under the same skies and against the same landscapes with the descendants of those who ploughed or kept bees in the Vergilian poems;" Jammes' *Géorgiques chrétiennes,* religious idylls of the French husbandman, poems that Miss Amy Lowell describes as "a whole book dealing with the agricultural labors of a year".[49]

3. *Variations in the development of the Georgic compared with variations in the development of the Eclogue.*

The conventional pastoral occurs chiefly in the forms of the eclogue, the lyric, the pastoral romance, and the pastoral drama. The eclogue is, in itself, inherently lyric, and dramatic; and in it is found also the germ of romance. The evolution of the type comes about naturally, since evolution is the nature of living things.

It has been seen that even in the hands of Vergil the pastoral as a literary form shows development, for in *Eclogue* IV Vergil professedly uses the panegyric in a rural song,[50] and continually in his "*carmina pastorum,*" he veils an undercurrent of allusion, personal and political. From time to time, later writers continue to adapt the old conventions to new

[46] Bologna, Ditta Nicola Zanichelli, 1907.

[47] Paris, Mercure de France, 1914.

[48] See Miss Shepherd's article, "Giovanni Pascoli," in the *North Am. Rev.,* July, 1916.

[49] Amy Lowell, *Six French Poets,* N. Y., Macmillan Co., 1915.

[50] Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus!
Non omnes arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;
Si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.

themes. As early as Calpurnius, a poem is found in which georgic subject matter is used in the eclogue form. Mycon, an older shepherd in Calpurnius' fifth *Eclogue* instructs his pupil, Canthus, concerning the management of sheep and goats. *Eclogues* I, IV and part of *Eclogue* VII are in praise of the Emperor. They are written in strains of adulation that suggest Vergil's address to Augustus in the first *Georgic;* but the theme of panegyric, as has been observed, is not new in the eclogue, and belongs equally to the conventions of the pastoral and of the georgic. In *Eclogue* VII, however, a new theme occurs. A shepherd, just returned from the town, recounts his experiences for the benefit of an untravelled friend. He contrasts the life of the town with that of the country, a subject treated frequently, and with many variations, by later writers of the eclogue.

In the middle ages, dating from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, the old forms are adapted to Christian themes. The eclogue is used to celebrate the praises of the "saint cross," to prove the truth of the Bible stories, victorious over the falsehood of pagan myths, to voice allegorical religious laments, and to give honor to the saints.[51]

In the fourteenth century, Petrarch discovered the value of the pastoral machinery as a vehicle for veiled satire. Boccaccio uses the traditional pastoral material in the making of the first modern pastoral romance.[52] Mantuan uses it for direct satire, introducing the diatribe against woman, the contrast between town and city dwellers, the denunciation of clerical evils, the contrast between a virtuous past and a corrupt present.[53] Sannazaro, presumably imitating *Idyll* XXI of Theocritus, set a

[51] Cp. Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 19; W. P. Mustard, "On the Pastoral Ancient and Modern," *The Classical Weekly*, March 27, 1915, p. 162.

[52] Sometime between the second and the sixth century, a Greek, called Longus, wrote the pastoral romance of Daphnis and Chloe. Greg thinks that this work played no part in the evolution of the earliest modern shepherd romances.

[53] This and the contrast between town and city dwellers are also favorite georgic themes.

new fashion in the piscatory eclogue, in which he makes the speakers fishermen, instead of shepherds, the setting "piscatory," instead of pastoral.

In the *Comedia nuova pastorale* of Giambattista Casalio of Faenza, a composition placed somewhat before 1538, Greg [54] recognizes "what may almost be regarded as the first conscious attempt to write a pastoral play." There seems, however, to be no adequate treatment of the evolution of the pastoral drama. Greg's view is that "the theatrical tendency first exhibited itself in the mere recitation of a dialogue in character," the earliest example of these so-called *ecloghe rappresentative* being identical in form with those written merely for literary circulation.[55] As early as the tenth century, European audiences had become familiar with the shepherd figures of the religious dramas, and later with the shepherds of the medieval miracle plays.[56] However, it cannot be said that these pastoral traditions had any more influence on the evolution of the modern pastoral drama than the romance of *Daphnis and Chloe* is said to have had on the modern pastoral romance. Nevertheless, in the case of English literature one can grant that "the shepherd's plays of the religious cycles, the popular ballads, and a few of the Scots poets of the time of Henryson, all alike furnish verse which may be regarded as the index of the readiness of the popular mind to receive the introduction of a formal pastoral tradition." [57]

The most striking minor variations in the pastoral are due, presumably, to Sannazaro and the vogue of his piscatory eclogues. "Nautical" or "naval eclogues" are attempted in

[54] *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

[55] See Greg, "On the Origin and Development of the Italian Pastoral Drama," *op. cit.*, App. I, p. 429.

[56] In the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum*, the shepherds appear, complaining like Spenser's Cuddie, of the biting cold. They also enumerate in georgic fashion a list of the evils of their time. In the Chester *Shepherd's Play*, a remarkable passage is introduced, in which, in the manner of the georgic, the shepherds discuss the diseases of sheep, and their cures.

[57] See Greg, *op. cit.* p. 417.

which sailors speak,[58] "venatory eclogues," songs of huntsmen, "vinitory eclogues," songs of vine dressers; "sea eclogues," songs of Tritons and mermen; and "mixed eclogues," in which the speakers are a fisherman and a shepherd, or a woodman, fisher, and a swain."[59]

In the eighteenth century, the pastoral formulas are burlesqued in a series of town eclogues,[60] and further variations of the type are found in Gay's *Quaker Eclogue,* in Mrs. Barbauld's *School Eclogue,* and in Shenstone's *Colemira, A Culinary Eclogue.*

The georgic, like the pastoral, is found in many variations. Vergil sings of tillage, of the culture of trees, of cattle, and of the "divine gift of aerial honey." The poet may take his choice of subject from any special branch of husbandry, and write a poem that answers to the definition of a georgic in the narrowest meaning of the word. Vergil, (*Georg.* III, 404-413), tells the farmer not to neglect the care of dogs, useful for protection against thieves, and valuable in the chase. He remarks (*Georg.* IV, 116-148), that he would like to write at greater length of gardens; he infers (*Georg.* I, 456-457), that in the face of certain signs it will be useless to advise him to cross the deep; Hesiod before him, in *The Works and Days,* had given advice concerning sea-faring. Vergil's suggestions seem to have offered the fatal fascination of themes "as yet unsung,"—hence the long list of forgotten or neglected poems that follow more or less closely the didactic type perfected in the *Georgics.*

The first important variation of the type is found in Gratius' adaptation of certain georgic features to the subject of the chase, the huntsman instead of the farmer being advised con-

[58] Cp. Kerlin, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[59] For the venatory variation cp. *Petri Lotichii Secundi Solitariensis, Poemata quae exstant omnia,* Dresdae, MDCCLXXIII. Ecl. I and II. For examples of the other variations, cp. *The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro,* Ed. W. P. Mustard, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914. Introd. pp. 21, 33, 42, 43, 48.

[60] See Kerlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

cerning the implements and methods of his art. Corresponding to the venatory eclogue there occurs the "cynegetic," which may be styled a venatory georgic. Annibale Cruceio's *Alcon,*[61] usually attributed to Fracastoro, is an imitation of Calpurnius' *Mycon* that illustrates the crossing of the types of the venatory georgic and the venatory eclogue. Alcon, an old huntsman, instructs a younger companion concerning the care of hunting dogs. The work is of especial interest in that it shows how closely the pastoral may be related to the georgic in a variation of both types.

From the pursuit of creatures on the land to the pursuit of creatures on the deep, there is but a step. Vergil, (*Georg.* I, 139-142), declares that at the end of the Golden Age men had begun to hunt and fish:

> tum laqueis captare feras et fallere visco
> inventum, et magnos canibus circumdare saltus;
> atque alius latum funda iam verberat amnem
> alta petens, pelagoque alius trahit umida lina.

Oppian of Cilicia was probably familiar with the lines. At any rate, he wrote the *Halieutica,* a poem on deep-sea fishing that shows familiarity with Vergilian conventions. Later poets treat similar themes, showing more or less indebtedness to Vergil, rather than to Oppian. Corresponding to the piscatory variation of the pastoral there occurs the piscatory variation of the georgic. Hazlitt[62] calls *The Compleat Angler* "the best pastoral in our language," but *The Compleat Angler* may be said to be georgic as well as pastoral. John Whitney's *Dialogue between Piscator and Corydon* is an eclogue of mixed character, in which a fisherman and a shepherd discuss their respective pleasures and profits, are entertained by pastoral songs celebrating country joys and virtues, and encourage each other with georgic reflections and moralizations.

[61] N. E. Lemaire, *Poetae Latini Minores,* Vol. I, p. 171. For a comment on the authorship of the poem see E. Carrara, "La Poesia Pastorale," *Storia dei generi Letterari Italiani,* Milan, p. 408.

[62] *Op. cit.* See above, p. 19.

In the sixteenth century, Bernardino Baldi, inspired by the characteristic georgic desire to tread untrodden ways, wrote *La Nautica,* in which he uses the georgic conventions and the Vergilian plan in a versified treatise on sea-faring,[63] and thus produced a nautical georgic corresponding to the nautical or naval eclogue. Thomas Kirchmayer, like the medieval writers of eclogues, adapted georgic themes to Christian teachings. In his *Agricultura Sacra,* man, the spiritual husbandman, is instructed in the care of the estate of his soul.[64] Fracastoro, who has frequently been compared to Vergil, used Vergil's framework in a poem entitled *Syphilis, sive de Morbo Gallico.* Tansillo, interested also in physical welfare, undertook to sermonize in verse on the method of rearing high-born infants.[65]

In the seventeenth century, Rapin, in his *Horti,* (Bk. I, 11) suggests that some one write a medicinal georgic. Conington [66] observes that before the time of Nemesianus, Serenus Sammonicus had written 1115 hexameters entitled *De Medicina Praecepta,* but adds that this work " is not properly a didactic poem, but merely a medical treatise in metre." In the sixteenth century, Paola del Rosso wrote a didactic entitled *La Fisica;* but Ginguené describes it as an abridgement of Aristotle's book on physics, severely written, without digressions or ornaments. No one seems to have fully carried out Rapin's suggestion. Collier [67] describes briefly a work written entirely in verse by Edmund Gayton, *The Art of Longevity or a Diaeteticall Institution.* The work is in thirty-three chapters, treating of the wholesomeness or unwholesomeness of every kind of food; as it was " printed by the Author," in 1659, four years after the appearance of Rapin's *Horti,* it may be that Gayton was en-

[63] B. Baldi, *La Nautica con Introduzione e note di Gaetano Bonifacio,* Citta di Castello, 1915.

[64] Cp. C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century,* Cambridge, 1886, pp. 121 ff.

[65] L. Tansillo, " La Balia," *L'Egloga e i Poemetti, con introduzione e note di Francesco Flamini,* Napoli, 1893.

[66] *Op. cit.,* p. 400.

[67] *Op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 309-310.

couraged in his task by the suggestion of the French writer. In the eighteenth century, from the point of view of a physician and of a poet, John Armstrong wrote a treatise in blank verse on *The Art of Preserving Health,* a variation of the georgic that might have satisfied Rapin, had the English poet discoursed more on the use of medicines.

Akenside, whose interest centered primarily in the workings of the mind, used the model furnished by Horace in the *Epistles* and by Vergil in the *Georgics,* to write a didactic entitled *The Pleasures of the Imagination.* In his preface, Akenside states that he has followed Horace and Vergil as models; in his poem, he illustrates the use of many of the favorite georgic conventions. In the third book of the first edition of his poems, he imitates allegorically Vergil's instructions on soils. Writing of the wonder of God's gifts to man, Akenside discourses on Taste, telling how the early seeds of love and admiration are sown by the Creator in the minds of man, and how constant culture is necessary to rear these seeds to bloom; and as Vergil sang of differences in the character of soils, so Akenside sings of differences in the character of the human mind.

Gay's *Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London,* published 1716, and Soame Jenyns' *Art of Dancing,* published 1727, are interesting examples of the burlesque variation of the georgic. Both poems are mock heroics in which georgic conventions are adapted to situations in city life. The eighteenth century produced the town georgic as it produced the town eclogue. Writers of the latter are said to have had a model in Theocritus, *Idyll* xv.[68] The very name " town georgic " is in itself striking proof of the extent to which the Vergilian type of didactic poetry may wander from the scene of field-work.

Falconer's *Shipwreck,* published 1762, is another example of the varying use of the georgic conventions, the poem being an epic with georgic features, such as technical instructions of a nautical character, moralizations, geographical excursions, ref-

[68] Cp. Kerlin, *op. cit.,* p. 59.

erences to famous men, the contrast of rural innocence with city arts.

But by far the most important eighteenth century development of the type is that originated by James Thomson in the *Seasons.* Thomson omits the most difficult feature of the *Georgics,* the versifying of practical precepts, but he makes use of the georgic motives and of almost all the georgic conventions. Vergil proposes to teach the husbandman agricultural arts. He describes the occupations of the farmer thru the year, referring incidentally to the seasons as they are related to the farmer's occupations. Thomson proposes to give an account of the course of the seasons, referring incidentally to the farmer's occupations as they relate to the seasons. Vergil introduces descriptions of nature, chiefly as background for the husbandman at work. Thomson introduces the farmer and his work chiefly to give life to his descriptions of nature. Instead of using the formal Vergilian statement of the subject, Thomson begins each of his poems with an apostrophe to the Season he is about to describe; his mythological references are rare, and he can hardly be said to introduce pointed proverbial sayings. But if he refrains from the use of proverbial sayings, he makes up by the length of his moralizations and of his philosophical reflections. He never attempts to convey practical advice directly, altho in *Spring* (137 ff.), after his description of the manner of destroying orchard pests, he uses Vergil's personal tone in exhorting the swains to patience. All the other features familiar in the georgics he uses as freely as he uses Vergil's phrasing. In *Spring,* (142 ff.) and in *Autumn* (43 ff.) he introduces the central motive of the *Georgics,* the glorification of labor, but he does not use the motive as a central thought. Thruout the *Seasons* he sings the praise of simple country life; in *Autumn,* almost in Vergil's own words, he paints the existence of the husbandman, happy beyond the dreams of the great.

Vergil suggests; Thomson delights to expand. Vergil touches upon various philosophical beliefs; Thomson expounds eighteenth century philosophical ideas line upon line. In Vergil,

every word seems necessary to the perfection of the whole; Samuel Johnson is said to have pleased an unsuspecting audience by reading a passage from Thomson in which he omitted every other line. Nevertheless, partly because of what he owes to Vergil, partly because much that he has to say is refreshing to jaded eighteenth century readers, chiefly because in spite of his faults he is a true poet, Thomson offered a variation of the georgic that found a welcome not only among the learned, but also among readers who had never construed a Latin line. The influence of Thomson is seen in English poems planned to imitate closely the Vergilian model; but alongside of these didactics there are found in English, French, and Italian, imitations of the Vergilian model as Thomson adapted it to his use.[69]

Pascoli, in the *Primi Poemetti,* like Thomson in the *Seasons,* makes no pretence of giving his reader direct practical advice. But unlike Thomson, Pascoli introduces no learned allusions, no panegyrics, no geographical excursions, no narrative episodes, no sorrowful contrast between the past and the present. It is the Vergilian spirit, rather than the Vergilian motives, that one finds in Pascoli. Reading the *Poemetti,* one thinks inevitably of Millet; only, too often, Millet fills one with a sense of sadness. The atmosphere of the Poemetti, unlike that in so much of Pascoli, is of deep unreasoning content. The *Poemetti* are a series of little pictures, idylls in which are depicted the homely realities of the Italian *contadini's* daily life. To his listening helpmate the husbandman repeats proverbial wisdom,

> Sai che, per il grano,
> presto è talora, tardi è sempre male.
> . . . chi con l'acqua semina, raccoglie
> poi col paniere; e cuoce fare in vano
> più che non fare.

[69] Among the most interesting of the English poems influenced by the Thomsonian variation of the georgic type are Goldsmith's *Deserted Village,* Cowper's *Task,* and William Bloomfield's *The Farmer's Boy.* Delille's *Homme des Champs* shows the influence of Goldsmith even more markedly than that of Thomson. N. G. Léonard's *Le Village Detruit,* is a weak copy of the *Deserted Village.* Mazzoni, *op. cit.,* p. 79, mentions a nineteenth

"Some mute star" looks down upon him as he plows; and the young daughters of the house rising at dawn, perform accustomed tasks. Brown-haired Viola milks the cow; golden-haired Rosa, like Vergil's housewife, sings to the sound of the weaving comb and at the command of the "cara pia madre" helps to prepare the simple meal. And when the Angelus rings, mother and daughters carry bread and wine to the fields where the sowers stand, like Millet's peasants, repeating the familiar prayer.

With the loving minuteness of Vergil, Pascoli describes the *contadini's* daily tasks. Like Vergil he charms the homeliest details into verse, and more perhaps than any other poet since Vergil, he writes with intimate understanding of the husbandman's life. With exquisite simplicity, more perhaps even than Vergil, he reveals the poetry of the peasants' religion, the nobility of simple tasks wrought with contentment, hallowed by the sacred beauty of family love.

In Francis Jammes' *Géorgiques chrétiennes,* there is still another development of the georgic type in which practical precepts are omitted. However, a number of the conventional Vergilian features are illustrated, such for example, as the references to foreign lands, their products and customs; descriptions of rural festivities and of rural sports; the marking of the seasons by the constellations; references to famous men; a lament over the desertion of the soil; and the use of narrative episodes. *Les Géorgiques chrétiennes* treat of agricultural labors, such as harvesting, and sowing, the culture of the vine; but the poet does not offer direct instructions as to the methods of farming. Like Pascoli's *Poemetti,* these georgics are idylls of the farmer's life; like the *Poemetti,* they present a series of scenes in the life of one family.[70] Jammes makes an occasional mythological reference, but like Pascoli, he introduces no pagan religion. In the *Poemetti,* one hears the sound of the church bell, the sing-

century *Stagioni* by Giuseppe Barbieri, and comments upon the European vogue of the Thomsonian nature poetry.

[70] In this respect, both series of poems are like Bloomfield's *Farmer's Boy.*

ing of religious songs, the prayer of the Angelus; in the pages of Jammes, "harvesting angels" guard the land no longer protected by the deities of ancient Rome. The French poet invokes his angel (chant III, 48 ff.), not the Muse; he dedicates his third song to the "Mère de Dieu"; and he describes church feasts such as Christmas, Rogation Days, and All Souls'. He sighs over the desertion of the soil, as Vergil and so many other poets have sighed, but the present-day evils that he most deeply laments are those brought about by the irreligion of France.

In spite of certain general resemblances to Pascoli's *Poemetti, Les Géorgiques chrétiennes* are very different from the Italian poems. In plan they are much nearer to the Vergilian type; in spirit far less near to Vergil. As a development of the georgic type they are of especial interest; as poems, they offer much that is worth while, but they fail to grip the heart with the deep and abiding beauty of the *Poemetti* of Pascoli.

4. *Variations of the Georgic classified.*

A didactic poem of the Vergilian type may illustrate only the use of the plan and general treatment of the *Georgics,* or it may illustrate only the spirit and the motives of the *Georgics,* and in plan be quite different from Vergil's didactics. A poem may be a georgic, Vergilian only with respect to subject matter; it may be Vergilian in form and in subject have nothing in common with the true georgic. The Vergilian conventions may be used to convey instructions about any practical art, they may be used to impart precepts about a science or a fine art; they may be adapted to Christian themes and allegorical teachings; they may be used for satire and burlesque, or in the telling of a tale. Georgic themes may be the subjects discoursed upon by the speakers in an eclogue; thus the types cross. And finally, a poem that is georgic in motive or subject matter comes under the broad definition of the term pastoral.

The chief variations in the development of the georgic type fall into two general classes, which may be sub-divided as follows:

I. *Poems marked primarily by the use of rules of practice.*

a. The georgic in the narrowest sense of the word, a composition in which the poet treats of rules of practice concerning the science of general husbandry, or of any special branch of husbandry such as gardening, bee-keeping or the culture of silkworms.

1. The non-Vergilian georgic, written like Hesiod's *Works and Days,* with no regard for definite plan or artistic structure; for example, Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie,* John Gardener's *Feate of Gardening.*

2. The Vergilian georgic, in which the poet follows a definite plan and makes more or less use of conventions peculiar to the Vergilian type; for example, Alammani's *Coltivazione* (of general husbandry), Rapin's *Hortorum libri IV,* Christopher Smart's *Hop Garden,* Ruccelai's *Api,* Vida's *Bombyces.*

b. The cynegetic, the halieutic, or the ixeutic [71] (nearest in type to the true georgic), a composition in which the poet treats of rules of practice not concerning field-work but field-sports, such as hunting with hounds (the cynegetic), deep sea-fishing or angling (the halieutic), and of hawking or the snaring of birds (the ixeutic). These efforts may be non-Vergilian in form (Dame Juliana Berner's *Treatise on Venerie*), or they may be written in imitation of the *Georgics* (William Somerville's *Chase*). The Oppian poems are among the most interesting examples of the cynegetic and the halieutic; Claude Gauchet's "Le Moyen de Prendre les Alouettes au miroer" [72] illustrates a sixteenth-century variation of the ixeutic.[72]

c. A composition in which the poet treats of rules of practice concerning any outdoor occupation, as in the nautical georgic, a poem on the art of sea-faring; for example, Bernardino Baldi's *Nautica,* Joseph Esmenard's *Navigation.*

[71] The poems of this class will be treated in detail in a subsequent chapter.

[72] See *Le Plaisir des Champs,* Paris. Edition of 1604.

d. A composition in which the poet gives direct advice concerning any practical art. The effort may be a non-Vergilian bit of rhyme, perhaps on some prosaic matter of the housewife's province, such as John Gay's *Receipt for Stewing Veal. With notes by the author*[73]; or it may be a Vergilian didactic following the georgic conventions, and emphasizing the necessity of honest toil and the advantages of country life; for example, John Armstrong's *Art of Preserving Health.*

e. A composition in which the poet follows the georgic conventions, purporting to give advice concerning any art or occupation; for example Soame Jenyns' *Art of Dancing,* Gay's mock-heroic *Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London.*

f. An eclogue in which the characters are concerned with rules of practice; as in Calpurnius' *Mycon,* John Scott's *Amoebean Eclogue, "Rural Business; or the Agriculturists."*[74]

II. *Poems illustrating georgic themes or georgic features, but not marked primarily by the use of rules of practice.*

a. A composition that treats of rural life, following in part georgic ideas and georgic conventions, altho not dealing primarily with an occupation; as, for example, Thomson's *Seasons.*

b. A composition in which practical precepts are not used, altho the poet treats in the Vergilian spirit of farm occupations and uses to some extent georgic features; as in Bloomfield's *Farmer's Boy,* Pascoli's *Primi Poemetti,* and Jammes' *Géorgiques chrétiennes.*

c. A composition in which, for allegorical or philosophical purposes, the Vergilian plan is imitated, wholly or in part, altho the poet does not treat of a practical occupation and is not concerned primarily with country life; as in Thomas Kirch-

[73] See Chalmer's *English Poets,* x, 495.
[74] See Chalmer's *English Poets,* xvii, 469.

meyer's *Agricultura Sacra,* and Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination.*

d. An eclogue in which the characters discourse on georgic themes; for example, John Whitney's *Dialogue between Piscator and Corydon,* Claude Gauchet's "Michaut-Phlippot." [75]

e. A narrative poem with digressions of georgic character; as in Falconer's *Shipwreck.*

[75] See *Le Plaisir des Champs,* Paris, 1869, p. 86.

VITA

I was born in Conewago, Pa., 4 October, 1881. In 1896, I entered Notre Dame College, Md., where I was graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1900. From 1904-1907, I taught English and History in St. Mary's Seminary, a state institution at St. Mary's City, Md. I taught English in the family of Senor Francisco Santa Cruz, Colima, Mexico, in 1908; and English and History in St. Mary's Seminary from 1910 to 1912. In October, 1912, I entered the Johns Hopkins University and pursued the study of English, History, and Philosophy. In June, 1914, I received the degree of A. M. at the Johns Hopkins University. I was appointed Fellow in English for the year 1914-15, and Fellow by Courtesy for the year 1915-16. My studies have been pursued under Professors Bright, Vincent, Magoffin, Ballagh, Willoughby Lovejoy, Mustard, Collitz, Bloomfield and Shaw.

This study was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Bright and I have continued it chiefly under his guidance. I wish to express my appreciation of the kindness of Professor Shaw, who has aided me with the Italian bibliography, and to Professor Mustard, who has been unceasing in his helpful suggestions with regard to the Georgic and the Pastoral. But especially, I wish to thank Professor Bright, whose criticism has been invaluable to me in the course of this work; and of whom I say with gratitude, as do all who have studied under him, that he has helped inestimably in an understanding of the ideals of scholarship.

MARIE LORETTO LILLY.

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